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**Recent Developments in the
Canadian Northlands**

**by Trevor Lloyd, B.Sc., M.A., Ph.D.,
D.Sc., LL.D.**

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Preface

This is an edited report compiled from a recording of an illustrated talk given by Dr Lloyd at Canada House on 16 December 1977.

The views expressed are those of Dr Lloyd and do not necessarily represent those of the Government of Canada.

Dr Lloyd has had a long and distinguished career in both university life and public service. He is currently Executive Director of the Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies, 130 Albert, Ottawa, Canada K1P 5G4 (Tel: (613) 563 3543).

This Association is a federation of twenty-eight Canadian universities interested in northern studies and research. Its purpose is to facilitate co-operation between members, including the sharing of skills and resources. The Association provides a useful channel of communication between universities (a provincial responsibility) and the Federal Government. It is also interested in the international interchange of graduate students and academic staff.

Most locations mentioned in this text may be found on the 1:6,336,000 map produced by the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources — Survey and Mapping Branch, 1970.

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Recent developments in the Canadian Northlands

TREVOR LLOYD, B.Sc., M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D.

Introduction

The Northlands, unless stated to the contrary, generally refer to the Yukon and Northwest Territories which are administered by the Canadian Federal Government.

Twentieth Century Northlands Development

Making an impressionistic series of remarks, Dr Lloyd identified five main stages in this development:

1. The period up to 1940 — Trading and Exploration — fur trading by the Hudson's Bay Company and a few competitors; Stefánsson led the major 1913–18 Canadian government expedition to the western Arctic, the last of its type. The Canadian Government began a series of annual visits called the Eastern Arctic Patrol in the early 1920s. This was mainly a floating administration. There were also some missionaries and a little mining and oil development.

2. The War Years 1940–45: Canada had little to do with the north; but the U.S.A. established a series of bases, such as Churchill and Frobisher Bay, along the Great Circle Route linking their west coast with Britain and mainland Europe. Aircraft were ferried along this route; weather stations and other facilities supported this function.

The Alaska highway was constructed by the U.S.A. across north-west Canada as a supply link both with Alaska itself and also the U.S.S.R. The Canal pipeline was constructed by the U.S.A. army from a small oilfield in the Mackenzie Valley to the Yukon and Alaska as a reserve supply in case the Japanese cut off supplies from the Pacific Coast. In this four inch pipeline, oil tended to either freeze or leak! Construction took so long and was so costly that Senator Harry Truman was put in charge of an enquiry which rocketed him to fame, eventually to become President of the U.S.A.

3. Early post-war developments: late in the World War, Canadian air crew returning from Europe began the mapping of the whole of Arctic Canada by aerial photography, using wartime Lancasters. This was followed by intensive geological surveying and other basic field research. Joint

Canadian-U.S.A. weather stations were developed on the northern-most Arctic islands. These have now been taken over by Canada.

4. Northern administration 1950s/early 1960s: fur trading declined; urbanisation increased. New health services, schools and social services were established. Some resource development occurred.

5. Developments in the 1960s and 1970s have been in two stages:

(a) Intense pressure toward development of oil and gas resources by international companies, mainly U.S.A. This was made possible by new technology. Consequently there were important changes in Canadian government policies for the north.

(b) The current situation. The main point selected by Dr Lloyd as being of particular contemporary significance is *the strict legislative control on all developments in the area by the Government of Canada.*

This applies to the whole of the Yukon and Northwest Territories (N.W.T.) and covers all aspects of land use, resource development, minerals, wild life control, use of water on the land, and includes the total control of the seas to a distance of one hundred miles offshore as a means of controlling pollution and protecting the livelihood of the native Inuit (Eskimos) who live off the sea. This is far in advance of legislation anywhere else. There is in addition the 200 mile control over the economic zone at sea governing mainly fish and other sea creatures. These steps, Dr Lloyd believes, would have been inconceivable in Canada twenty years ago. The Northwest Territories and Yukon is the only part of Canada whose total planning is under government control; something to which Canadians are unaccustomed. For example, no oil company is allowed to drill there until elaborate environmental studies have been made at the company's expense. Although the vast operation of constructing the Alaskan-Canadian gas pipeline is, on the face of it, a private operation, it will in fact be very strictly controlled by government regulations and a special unit has been established by the government to monitor the whole process.

Current Issues

Dr Lloyd put forward three issues which he regards as likely to be major concerns in the immediate future.

All aspects of oil and gas development

Five years ago this was probably the top priority in the Canadian government's thinking about the north. It is now probably third — Native Affairs and Environmental Protection coming respectively first and second. This represents a major change from traditional attitudes.

The title to land in the north

This involves complex problems relating to the residents: the Inuit (the ancient and customary name for Eskimos); the Indians; the white residents, some of whom have been long-established in the area. How these people are to carry on their present way of life and share the financial benefits arising from resource development is a difficult problem which has been under consideration for two and a half years but still has a long way to go.

Political administration of the north

A Commission was set up by the Government of Canada in 1965, under Dr A. W. R. Carrothers, to recommend a form of government for the Northwest Territories. While recommending relocation of the administration at Yellowknife he wisely advocated delaying any final decisions for fifteen years because social and economic conditions were evolving rapidly and the drawing of rigid boundaries at that stage could hamper development.

Recently, a new one-man Commissioner, Hon. C. M. Drury, a former senior cabinet minister, has been appointed to recommend to the Federal Government what form of administration should be adopted. Settlement of native claims to land and resources is a separate issue now being negotiated between the government and native organisations. This is being done with Alaska on the one side, where an enormous land settlement of more than \$900,000,000 was made to twelve Alaskan native corporations, and Greenland on the other side, where the future pattern of government is now being planned in detail to take effect in May 1979, in what the Danes call "home rule", but in British terms would probably be thought of as a form of "devolution".

Aspects of Canadian Northland Development

Dr Lloyd showed a series of slides to illustrate different facets of this development. The main themes are summarised below.

Strategic significance

Study of the globe indicates that Canada is "the ham in the sandwich" in the words of Lester B. Pearson between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. This means that although Canada maintains less in the way of defence facilities in the north than any other northern country, it cannot entirely ignore security and defence relationships in its thinking about the north.

Eurasian and North American northern settlement: compared and contrasted

Dr Lloyd illustrated on a map the relatively densely populated Eurasian side of the North Pole compared with the sparsely settled North American side,

and warned against drawing parallels between the two sides without a great deal of care.

The influence of climate, vegetation and terrain upon human activities

Dr Lloyd pointed out that the treeline lies considerably farther to the south in eastern Canada than in the west. For example, trees are found all along the whole length of the Mackenzie Valley, which benefited the Hudson's Bay Company by fuelling its wood-burning steamboats. Canada has proportionally a larger truly Arctic area than the Soviet Union, most of whose development is in the sub-Arctic, i.e. within the forested zone.

Something of the variety of northern landscapes was illustrated by views of the Selwyn and Mackenzie mountains, part of the North-South Cordillera, that lie along the border of the Yukon and N.W.T.; the ice cap on the high altitude part of Baffin Island in the east; the relatively flat region underlain by horizontal rock strata cut by the Mackenzie River as it flows northwards to the Beaufort Sea; around Hudson Bay the Canadian Shield with its lake-pitted landscape, which was such a blessing in the days of the bush fliers because with floats they could land anywhere in the north in the summertime, and with skis anywhere in wintertime, it was however very inconvenient for travelling on "dry" land during the warmer and wetter time of year; further north, on the island of the high Arctic, i.e. the true Arctic area in general north of Lancaster Sound, near Resolute on Cornwallis Island, the landscape represents the polar desert with its low precipitation and small amount of snow (Stefánsson used to explain that there was so little snow in these parts of the far north that he had difficulty using his sledges. His critics used to claim this proved him to be a liar for everyone knows there is lots of snow in the Arctic! In fact there is a total of about two inches of precipitation annually over many of the Arctic islands); the polygon-cracked surface, characteristic of areas with permafrost beneath, was illustrated and the southern limit of the permafrost, north of which it varies in depth from a few feet to 2,000 feet or more, was shown on a map — the permafrost has to be taken into account whenever *any* activity is carried on in this area.

Sea-ice is of enormous significance in connection with development because of the freighting in of cargoes and carrying out of products. A series of maps showed the extent of ice cover for one month or less per year, half a year and the whole year. West Greenland has an open coast roughly to the Arctic Circle, hence the long-established Danish settlement there. The Baffin Island and Labrador side of Davis Strait however have many months of continuous ice and southward flowing ice in summer. This determines the

type of shipping required and the planning of the shipping season. Ice can be mapped, but it changes all the time. An example was shown in Foxe Basin, to the west of Baffin Island, and not extremely far north. It has a bad reputation for heavy multi-year ice hanging around. Several quite large islands there were not found until 1948 because access is so difficult. It takes a fairly heavily strengthened ship to navigate Foxe Basin. Dr Lloyd described a flight he made one day over the Basin when it seemed packed with heavy ice. On returning the next day, the north wind had pushed the ice down to the south and one could have taken a canoe across the northern part! One of the problems of northern navigation is the unpredictability of the ice. There are now strict regulations governing the type of shipping and charts required before anyone may venture into the waters of northern Canada. One should not, however, make too much of the severity of the climate of northern Canada; after all, in summer the Mackenzie Valley is pretty salubrious. It has been 82°F in the delta of the Mackenzie and it is certainly very hot there on many a summer day. He showed a slide of a garden known as Browning's Farm, on the river bank just south of Fort Simpson (62°N). Browning had told Dr Lloyd he had gone north to prospect and could never raise the money for a ticket to get out, so he decided to live there and as a one-time farmer from Texas do something about horticulture, so he proceeded to settle down and produce vegetables and corn (maize). Wheat has been grown successfully at Fort Simpson. The Mackenzie, though having a severe winter, has a really quite pleasant though dry summer. Corresponding latitudes in the eastern Arctic, however, have far wetter summers.

The native peoples

The main groups are the Inuit and the Indians. Over the past forty years, their living quarters have changed from tents and igloos, through a transitional stage of rough wooden huts to the modern urban Inuit. They now use snowmobiles instead of dog sledges. The Prince of Wales caused a problem when he visited Ellesmere Island in 1976. He wanted to ride by dog team. There was no dog team left, so an emergency team had to be collected from here and there and accustomed to pulling a sledge so that when he turned up he could have that ride by dog sledge that's looked upon as being the normal means of conveyance in the north! Dr Lloyd added that we have out-of-date ideas about remote areas. He related an occasion when he wanted to cross northern Norway, through Finland, into Sweden. He chartered three reindeer sledges and a Lapp driver, but found the reindeer not much good at pulling. Only when he had got half way did someone ask him why did he not use a snowmobile like everyone else! The snowmobile is built in

Quebec where Dr Lloyd comes from, and he did not know it even existed in Lapland! The Arctic is not nearly as old-fashioned as many people would think!

Schools in northern Canada are now doing something they should have done twenty-five years ago. When at that time a modern educational system was being introduced, it was the general view that Inuit and Indians were to be treated as another immigrant group which had to be made into Canadians. So English was to be the teaching language from the beginning. Anyone who did not know enough could sit at the back of the class until they figured out what was going on and could be promoted up to the front. Of course the difficulty was that trained teachers did not know the native language. Well, things have changed and the Inuit teaching assistants are allowed in the classroom even though they do not have diplomas. A slide showed a fine old hunter sitting with a group of schoolchildren telling them about their forebearers. Curiously enough, Dr Lloyd remarked, he has a very similar photograph of an old Kazakh in the U.S.S.R. talking about the old days of sheep-raising in the high mountains of Tien Shan to a group of Soviet children in a school at Alma Ata.

Transportation

Dr Lloyd started with a slide of Inuit with the traditional dog sledge taken in 1941 and used in some areas until fairly recently. These people were not moving from their summer cottage to their winter house. They didn't have either! They were moving between camp sites and would have lived in tents or igloos.

The Indians also used a dog-drawn toboggan in the forested areas.

As far back as the 1880s, steamboats were used on the Mackenzie River. The stern-wheeler shown in 1942, was used by Stefánsson in 1905. It was the standard modern river transportation in the early part of the century.

At sea, a whole convoy of ice strengthened ships was shown taking annual supplies to Axel Heiberg Island, a place once so remote that in 1958, the Geography Department at McGill University chose it because it was then practically unknown and they could start mapping and studying it from zero. Well, it is not unknown any more. McGill still has a research station there, but a whole lot of oil companies are operating up there with supplies taken in by such convoys.

There are no regular seaports in the north so even at Frobisher Bay (southern Baffin Island) they have to do the best they can with landing craft to get supplies ashore. This contrasts with both western Greenland and western Alaska.

If the cargo is expensive or required in a hurry, the "sky-hook" helicopter can be used, such as the one shown being used at the James Bay hydro-electric project, which is a large and expensive undertaking which can afford to pay for it.

Aviation, along with radio and satellite communication systems, are everyday technologies now. Commercial aircraft, with stewardesses and all, serve the main settlements. Planes such as the Twin Otter were designed for smaller landing strips and even for landing where there are no strips at all. A whole family of such aircraft have been developed and used for these purposes.

The helicopter is used by exploration parties and for search and rescue, but not, as in West Greenland, as a regular part of the passenger moving system. The land there is generally so rugged that airfields have not been built except a few inland at the heads of fjords, but these are remote from where the people live. In Canada airstrips can be built at most of the settlements.

Surface transport must not be forgotten. It was once a hobby of Dr Lloyd to travel as far north as possible on all northward-running Canadian railroads. For example, one can reach the interior of Quebec in this way, and also James Bay and Churchill on Hudson Bay. The route to Pine Point farther west, where there is a lead-zinc mine, is used by road and railway. The highway extends to Yellowknife and farther north to Fort Simpson. Someday, the Mackenzie Highway will extend right down the valley to Inuvik. This town will also be reached by road from the Yukon. There is talk of a railway also being eventually built the length of the Mackenzie Valley, and the route has already been selected.

Scientific methodology

Stefánsson's travels between 1905 and 1918 had been largely undertaken on foot with a little, largely unsuccessful, by ship. That was the end of an era of Arctic research. Dr Lloyd once asked Stefánsson whether or not he had had a radio with him on his last expedition. He replied yes, but fortunately it broke so we never had to use it! The next major expedition was that in the early 1920s led by the Danish explorer Rasmussen, an expert on Eskimo life. Then followed the Canadian Government's Eastern Arctic Patrol, and Royal Canadian Mounted Police (R.C.M.P.) posts at such small settlements as Pond Inlet.

Since the 1930s, scientific work has become more standardised. Much of the basic data has been collected by government and university parties. Increasingly, there is a tendency to use bases to work from. The one at Knob Lake, now known as Schefferville, in the middle of northern Quebec, was

set up from McGill University. Other university bases are found on Axel Heiberg Island and Devon Island. Trained personnel and modern aids supported by air transportation and roads are the basis of such research centres.

The Federal Government too has research bases — two of the busiest are at Inuvik and Igloolik in Foxe Basin. They are in the charge of permanent scientists and are also available to visiting scientists.

It should be noted that these stations, as with other Arctic buildings, do not rest directly on the ground because of the permafrost which would be melted. They are usually built on piles leaving a space of about a metre or so to let the air circulate underneath.

Americans and Canadians have been working jointly on sea-ice and oceanographic studies in the Beaufort Sea, where considerable quantities of oil are expected. One of the research stations on the sea-ice far offshore was shown.

Community living

A 1942 picture was shown of the gold-mining community at Yellowknife. It showed the main and only street with an hotel containing the only bar in the N.W.T. at the time. Dr Lloyd sometimes wishes this was still so, for the spread of alcohol all over the north has brought nobody any particular good. Yellowknife was in those days a typical mining camp built by a typical mining company. It would probably have remained that way, had the government not intervened.

In contrast, the main street of Yellowknife today, which has a large Hudson's Bay Company department store and a steak-house opposite; the mining town has become an important administrative and educational centre. Located on the edge of the Pre-Cambrian Shield, it has two gold mines, is served by an airstrip, and in summer by lake shipping and is a base for mining exploration farther north. Almost never has a town in northern Canada been planned from beginning to end. Most were fur-trading posts on the sites of Inuit camps, some were purely accidental. Frobisher Bay was an entire fluke. Resolute Bay was built in the wrong place — when a U.S.A. supply ship failed to reach where it was supposed to go. One could write a saga of the ancestry of some of these towns. But one was really searched for — INUVIK.

When the government decided that a town was needed in the western Arctic, a team of scientists from Ottawa made a systematic search in the early 1950s for the best site. The place chosen was on one of the streams flowing out through the delta of the Mackenzie River. They built a suburbia

out there — a suburbia on permafrost, which is why the sewers and other facilities are put in heated boxes running above the ground. They have to have stairs over the top of them. That's always provided a problem on Saturday nights in Inuvik!

Inuvik is a base for the oil industry in the area, for it is from there northwards that most of the oil began to be discovered. It is therefore expanding very rapidly. It is a planned town, although you will not be surprised to know that the planners forgot the Inuit. They did not actually forget them; they were not building it for the Inuit and they assumed the Inuit would be kind enough to stay out on the tundra where they belonged. Of course, they moved in. Many of them found the town's waste dump provided all sorts of useful materials not found where they had been. Inuvik has now been adapted to the presence of very large numbers of Inuit.

Pond Inlet was an old trading post which has become a modern town in the north of Baffin Island. This is a fair sample of what planning and the work of local residents is now producing in smaller communities.

Pre-cast concrete has arrived in Yellowknife. A picture of a large government building was shown. It's fascinating to compare Soviet Arctic structures with those in Canada and in Greenland. That building would certainly not be out of place in the Soviet north. They love these vast slabs of pre-cast concrete complete with built-in glass windows. Damaged in transit they may be, but up they go and the Soviets still build these massive apartment buildings in the far north when one suspects it should be possible to utilise lighter prefabricated structures. Now, quite a number of such Canadian-made buildings are being sold in Russia in the oil producing areas of Siberia.

Steps to buildings are high where snow is deep in winter and where strong winds can cause drifting.

Light, partially prefabricated buildings, built on piers with air-space beneath are increasingly common in the north.

Sometimes in northern Canada, they construct row (terrace) houses and try to mix the native residents and southerners. It will be hard to find out which group dislikes this the most, so to speak, but they will undoubtedly get accustomed to each other's company in time.

The Inuit called the first small wooden houses built for them "match-boxes". Architects have had their day with modern building materials and modern designs. The elementary school at Frobisher Bay is built of plastic board on a thick pad of gravel to maintain the permafrost, and is without windows to conserve the oil-fuelled heat paid for by the government. This is said to be unpopular with children who like to take their gaze off the

teacher's face from time to time. There's not much else to look at now! The "Please help clean up Frobisher Bay" is a very Canadian sign found even here.

A slide was shown of the Recreation Centre at the new mining settlement on Strathcona Sound a dozen miles from Arctic Bay, on Baffin Island. There's general agreement that Arctic Bay will not be emptied to fill a new community here. There are going to be some houses here, but most of the workforce will commute back and forth from Arctic Bay itself. This is intended as a model mining town in northern Canada. We certainly need it, for there are others that are not very model! This will be the experiment to see how mining in these very severe conditions can be done and on which movement to the Arctic islands further north will be based, perhaps to little Cornwallis Island next.

The technological difficulties of carrying on perfectly ordinary jobs in very severe conditions of cold, permafrost, or both, are often forgotten. Drilling for iron ore in an open pit was used as an example. Machines have to be kept going in midwinter at temperatures of -25°F or so. Many adaptations of machines have been worked out under such conditions.

Mining and resource development

From Arctic Bay, a Twin Otter flies residents off to work at oil or gas operations on the northern islands. They tend to work on a two-weeks-on, one-week-off system!

A 1942 picture showed waste oil pouring into the Mackenzie River from a northern well. Companies would not be allowed to get away with this now.

An important new area for oil, and particularly gas, is the less well-known Arctic region known as the Sverdrup Islands, a reminder that the area was first discovered and mapped by the Norwegian Sverdrup expedition at the turn of the century. Getting the gas off the islands and transported to the south is the trick that eventually has to be done.

Another promising site is offshore north of the Mackenzie Delta in the Beaufort Sea, where the heavy pack-ice is a permanent nuisance. Artificial islands have been built in the shallow waters as drilling sites and elsewhere three drill ships have been at work during the summer with encouraging results. So it may be that gas in this area will be developed fairly soon. Getting it out by pipeline however, will still pose problems.

Drilling is also going on off West Greenland, but so far without results. Off Baffin Island, operations are held up until the companies carry out environmental studies to government standards.

The problem of transporting gas from Prudoe Bay, Alaska and Mackenzie Valley to the U.S.A. and southern Canada

The first proposal was to route an oil pipeline south through Alberta, linking up with gas from the Mackenzie Valley *en route*. The route would have crossed a caribou reserve, encountered other wildlife problems, and caused serious disturbance in the Mackenzie Valley, the densely populated part of the far north. The very large international oil companies involved spent from \$20 to \$30 million on what they termed "research", to justify the route. (The cost would have been borne by the gas users later.) Well, there aren't going to be any gas users because the pipeline isn't going that way! Following very thorough public enquiries the Canadian Government selected a quite different route by way of the Yukon. The objection is to such things as seismic blasting across country for mapping underground, which destroys permafrost, causes melting and, in the spring, a tremendous amount of erosion. In the summer season, the permafrost country is covered with water, even though sites are built up on gravel. All this is now very carefully controlled and the oil companies are really behaving very well.

A slide of the Alaskan oil pipeline from Prudhoe Bay running on tressles and then underground was shown. This emerges on the Pacific coast at Anchorage. It is the gas from this oil output that is now seeking a way out.

A map showing alternative routes was then shown. One route was that via the Mackenzie just described. Another was to transport the gas by pipeline across Alaska and then to take it in liquid form to California by sea. This is the so-called El Paso route.

The third proposal was to transport the gas along the oil pipeline route as far as Fairbanks or near there, from where it would continue by pipeline along the route of the Alaska highway, through the Yukon into Alberta and then by existing pipeline routes into the U.S.A. An additional branch pipeline from the Mackenzie Delta passing through the Yukon could be built later. An alternative to this branch would be to transport the delta gas along a pipeline in the Mackenzie Valley, but that has been specifically forbidden.

The problem of transporting gas from the Arctic islands

The problems here are to cross between islands and to pipe the gas to one gathering point.

A slide was shown of some of the profiles of the channels including the main North West Passage. The deepest is 1,000 feet. Others are shallow. Some may need to be tunnelled; others may require the pipe to be laid from the ice onto the channel bottom, because most of them have semi-permanent ice to work from; while others may require a combination of tunnelling on

the land sides and laying on the deeper channel bottoms, which are not scraped by ice.

Techniques for drilling for gas from sea-ice have been developed, which include installing drilling equipment on the sea-bed by deep sea diving and protecting the pipes from attack by the ice, possibly by placing them in tunnels or laying them along the sea-bed itself. A depth of 150 feet seems to be critical.

A new concept in transporting the gas from the islands is to liquefy it in a compressor system and move it by ice-breaking tanker to a southern collecting point in, say, New Brunswick. One advantage of this would be the amount of gas needed to justify this method is considerably less than is required for the construction of a pipeline. So far, about one-third of the quantity of gas needed to justify a pipeline has been located. It is hoped that if they get some money in the bank, an expensive liquid natural gas (L.N.G.) class 3 heavy ice-breaking tanker will be built to operate the year round. On the whole, the North West Passage is not a difficult place to navigate compared with other parts of the high north.

Politics of the northlands

The Canadian Department of National Defence is using aircraft to oversee sovereignty in the north. One cynical newspaper cartoon suggested it was not the Russians we're worried about so much as the Americans, and, in a sense, this has been the case since the days of Peary. However, sovereignty over the north is pretty well a dead issue now. It is really a question of how far out Canadian sovereignty extends although there are still those who have thoughts that the North West Passage is not as "closed" as the Canadians consider it to be.

The National Geographic map with the SS *Manhattan*'s route to Alaska and back was shown. What is not usually understood about the voyage of this enormous tanker is that it was first of all an internal struggle between shipping and oil pipelines within the oil industry with the tankers having command of the money temporarily; secondly, it was an attempt to demonstrate that an ordinary commercial vessel could go through the North West Passage, between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, thereby demonstrating an international right of way for ordinary shipping. Happily, whoever looks after the ice didn't co-operate: McClure Strait, which is a very tough place anyhow, was plugged and the *Manhattan* had to be rescued by the Canadian ice-breaker. It then went through Prince of Wales Strait which is too narrow to offer any doubt about sovereignty. Finally, it made its trip to Prudhoe Bay, picked up a few drums of oil and went back east

again. It is not an issue any more; they sold the tanker and a pipeline has been built across Alaska. In Dr Lloyd's non-legal, non-political, geographical opinion, there's not now a sovereignty problem, because any shipping will depend so heavily on facilities provided by Canada — weather reports and ice-forecasts; aids to navigation; ice-breakers and so on. Unless these are provided by Canada, nobody can use the route anyway.

Title to the land

A cartoon showing a Inuit saying "I always thought it belonged to us" exemplifies the attitude of the organised Inuit and Indians today.

It is not generally appreciated why the Inuit and Indians are saying anything at all. About seven years ago, when they appealed to Federal Government in Ottawa for help, the present Prime Minister said in so many words that the government of Canada has been bailing you out for 100 years and where has it got you? Bail yourselves out. Get organised. Found organisations. Go to court. Fight the government if need be. If it's only a matter of money to hire lawyers or scientific advisers, the Federal Government will provide the money. It has provided it, to the tune of millions and millions of dollars. All these young Indians and Inuit cruising around and in their offices in the north, in Montreal and in Ottawa, are spending money which they have got in anticipation of generosity to come when the land settlement is made.

A town council, which is nothing new in Greenland, is very new in northern Canada. It illustrates that the Inuit at that level are beginning to run their own local affairs. It is only a beginning. Dr Lloyd's personal opinion is, and he expressed it when the Carrothers Commission met (1965-66), they made a mistake in encouraging the rapid build-up of a central government of the N.W.T. in Yellowknife. The Commission recommended the move of the capital from Ottawa to Yellowknife, where, by northern standards, there has now been built up an enormous civil service — a bureaucracy running all over the far north. Now government, both federal and N.W.T. governments, are trying to decentralize a little to give more authority to the local people — very difficult and none of the bureaucrats, obviously, wanted anything to do with it. What should have happened is, at the beginning of the 1960s, management of these small towns should have been democratised and there should have been effective municipal government *à la* Sidney and Beatrice Webb. In this way, the kind of personnel would have been trained who could later have been fed into the central government at Yellowknife and elsewhere, and be really responsible. That is a fascinating situation; we'll have to see what happens.

A brief mention must be made of James Bay, Quebec because it is thought of as a precedent for land settlement elsewhere in the north.

North of 55°N was not part of Quebec in the early days of Canada. In 1912, for no clear reason, the Federal Government handed nearly the whole of this mainland area east of Hudson Bay to the government of Quebec with certain conditions, one of which was that it would respect existing obligations of the Federal Government to the native peoples for their welfare. A large part of the area was incorporated into the municipality of James Bay by the Province of Quebec as part of the legislation governing development of hydro-electric power and other resources. In order to control the water of several rivers needed for production of electricity and other natural resources, the Province of Quebec assumed control of all native affairs in the area concerned. As the requirements of the 1912 transfer of the territory had not been met by the province, the action was challenged in the courts by certain Indians. This compelled the province to negotiate the James Bay Agreement with the Crees, most of the Inuit and eventually also the Naskapis. Financial compensation, retention of certain hunting rights and title to certain lands were secured by the Indians and Inuit. When the Province of Quebec quite independently passed legislation making French the official language of Quebec, the Inuit of Fort Chimo on Ungava protested and did so effectively.

The James Bay settlement, which is not going to ride easily on these people, is also unpopular with the native people elsewhere in the north, since it is feared that it may be a precedent for other land settlements.

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